

CALL NO.
CA1
MI 800
-80L108

GOVT

Government
Publications



3 1761 11767877 1

5

Technical Study 8
A REVIEW OF WOMEN'S
PARTICIPATION IN THE
NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS
Leah Cohen
July 1981

**OUR MARKET DEVELOPMENT TASK FORCE
TECHNICAL STUDIES SERIES**

CAI

MI 800

-806108

Government
Publications

5

Technical Study 8
A REVIEW OF WOMEN'S
PARTICIPATION IN THE
NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS
Leah Cohen
July 1981

**LABOUR MARKET DEVELOPMENT TASK FORCE
TECHNICAL STUDIES SERIES**

Technical Study 8
A REVIEW OF WOMEN'S
PARTICIPATION IN THE
NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Leah Cohen
July 1981



This is one in a series of technical studies prepared for the Task Force on Labour Market Development. The opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Task Force. They do not reflect the views of the Government of Canada.

Third, a narrow definition of "non-traditional" jobs limits the training subsidy to 203 occupational groups, many of which are in small, non-unionized firms where job opportunities are limited. In 1978, 75 per cent of the wage subsidies went to small, non-union firms with 20 or less employees. In this situation women run the risk of becoming a cheap source of labour, vulnerable to layoffs and unemployment. In 1975, a survey of women who had completed their training in a non-traditional occupation found that three months after training the women earned \$67 a week less than men with identical characteristics in similar occupations.

Fourth, many unions strongly resist the entry of women into skilled occupations. They perceive the entry of women into the trades as an encroachment into an all-male preserve and they hold traditional conceptions of the proper sphere of women's work. The imposition of seniority lists on employers effectively stymies the entry of women into non-traditional jobs and frustrates CEIC's efforts in this regard.

Lastly, women who do manage to make it into a non-traditional job are subject to a bewildering array of negative and discriminatory attitudes and practices from co-workers and employers, most of which stem from their token status in a hostile all-male environment.

The solutions to the above problems are not simple, but they must begin with the recognition, of the fundamental discrimination against women in the work place. Discrimination must be defined as systemic, or structural, and it is the responsibility of the government to set and enforce rules to eliminate it.


Serious consideration should be given to the concept of contract compliance, which is one in a range of policy measures CEIC can adopt to break down systemic discrimination.

With regard to the non-traditional training subsidy, CEIC should examine those industries that are expanding and that can offer higher wages and more job security. In addition, in order to maximize the possibility of successful entry into non-traditional occupations, CEIC should consider pre-training, which should include not only skills orientation but also assertiveness training to help women combat negative and sexist attitudes on the job.

Counsellors at Canada Employment Centres need to be better trained to counsel, rather than to just slot or process clients to meet quotas, and their tendency to stream women into clerical and related occupations must be changed.

A registry or referral system needs to be established to match women who are interested in non-traditional occupations with industries experiencing skills shortages. In addition, a vigorous advertising, skills-promotion campaign is needed to encourage women into "non-traditional" occupations, and the definition of these occupations should be widened.

Finally, training and living allowances must be increased to allow women with family responsibilities to take part in training programs.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023 with funding from
University of Toronto

<https://archive.org/details/31761117678771>

SOMMAIRE

ÉTUDE SUR L'ACTIVITÉ DES FEMMES DANS LES PROFESSIONS NON TRADITIONNELLES

Leah Cohen

Quoique le taux d'activité des femmes se soit accru du tiers environ depuis 1966 et que plus de 50 % de toutes les femmes d'âge actif fassent actuellement partie de la population active, leur situation ne s'améliore pas. La ségrégation professionnelle était encore plus répandue en 1979 qu'en 1970. L'écart entre les salaires des hommes et des femmes continue de s'élargir, et le taux de chômage des femmes demeure plus élevé que celui des hommes. Il est particulièrement important de noter ce phénomène, car un nombre croissant de femmes travaillent pour assurer leur subsistance.

La CEIC a établi des lignes d'action pour favoriser et promouvoir l'accès des femmes aux professions habituellement exercées par des hommes. Un certain nombre de facteurs font cependant obstacle au progrès dans ce domaine.

Premièrement, la concentration et la ségrégation professionnelles continuent de dicter la formation des femmes en raison, dans une large mesure, de la mentalité des conseillers des Centres d'emploi du Canada qui ont tendance à confiner les femmes dans des professions traditionnelles. En 1978-1979, 85 % de toutes les femmes stagiaires se retrouvaient dans seulement huit professions, habituellement exercées par des femmes, et 50 % suivaient une formation de commis ou de sténographe (bien que seulement 14 % d'entre elles aient indiqué qu'il s'agissait là de leur profession habituelle). En ce qui concerne la formation en apprentissage, les femmes ne comptaient que pour 3 % des stagiaires et se retrouvaient surtout dans les catégories des services personnels et des services en général.

Il y aurait lieu d'établir une sorte de registre ou de système de présentations pour que les femmes qui désirent exercer une profession non traditionnelle puissent être présentées à des employeurs d'industries qui font face à des pénuries de main-d'oeuvre. En outre, il faudrait lancer une campagne dynamique de publicité pour amener les femmes à exercer des professions non traditionnelles, la définition de ces professions devant être aussi élargie.

Enfin, il faut accroître les allocations de formation et de subsistance pour permettre aux femmes ayant des responsabilités familiales de participer aux programmes de formation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Introduction	1
II.	Outline	3
III.	A Narrow Definition of Non-Traditional Jobs	4
IV.	An Overview of the Short-Comings of Non-Traditional Training	4
	i) CEC Counsellors-The First Barrier	8
	ii) The Role of Employers	11
	iii) The Role of Unions	13
	iv) Attitudinal Barriers and Deterrents to Women's Participation in Non-Traditional Occupations	15
V.	Solutions	17
	i) The Acceptance of the Concept of Systemic Discrimination	17
	ii) Contract Compliance	18
	iii) Placing Women in Growth Industries	20
	iv) The Inclusion of Pre-Training	21
	v) A New Approach to CEC Counselling	22
	vi) Establish A Registry or Referral System	22
	vii) Advertising and Promotion Campaign	23
	viii) Raise Training and Day Care Allowances	23
VI.	Conclusion	24

A REVIEW OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

I. Introduction

In reality women's position in the labour force is not improving, but rather is steadily deteriorating to the extent that occupational ghettoization was more prevalent in 1979 than it was in 1970.¹ For 81% of working women segregation into the traditional occupations -- clerical, service, professional-technical, and sales -- is still the norm.²

However, women's participation in the labour force has increased by nearly one-third since 1966,³ with the result that more than 50% of all women of working age are now working.⁴ This increased participation which is estimated to approximate men's participation within the next 20 years is the result of a number of significant variables: women are working out of economic necessity, since 40% are either separated, divorced, or widowed;⁵ 51% of two spouse families would experience serious financial deprivation if wives did not work outside the home;⁶ and finally an increasing number of women are working for the same reasons men do -- a combination of economic necessity and psychological

and emotional fulfillment.⁷ What is further apparent is the trend for an increased labour force attachment of women in the prime child-bearing years which has been partially linked to the rising divorce rate. For a growing number of women there are no kitchens to return to, but rather a persistent reality that they are solely responsible for their own and their dependants' financial security.⁸

Although it is evident that women are working in increasing numbers for economic survival, the wage differential between men and women continues to widen. In 1978 a full year woman worker earned 58% of the average male wage, a gap which shows little sign of closing.⁹

Women also experience higher unemployment than men in every industry except construction, with an overall unemployment rate of 46%. The unemployment rate for married women in 1979 was 95% higher than the rate for married men. Re-entry women comprise the largest component of female unemployment, representing 33% of the total female unemployed population. In addition, there is the fact of hidden female unemployment; nearly 25,000 women who in 1979 wanted jobs, but did not believe that work was available.¹⁰

II. Outline

The remainder of this report analyses the shortcomings and weakness of CEIC's policy initiatives to promote and encourage women's entry into non-traditional occupations.

After assessing the narrow interpretation of non-traditional occupations, the report then describes and evaluates non-traditional training for women. Subsequently, an assessment is made of a number of factors impeding women's progress. These include the deterrent effect of CEC Counsellors, the streaming of women into small, non-union firms, the unionized trades' opposition to women's entry, and finally the attitudinal barriers and deterrents.

The final section of the report examines a whole range of solutions which could assist in eliminating both major and minor discriminatory attitudes and practices. These solutions range from an acceptance and incorporation of the concept of systemic discrimination, coupled with the enactment of Contract Compliance and Equal Pay Legislation as well as recommendations for improved training programs and a new approach to CEC counselling. The report concludes with a recommendation that women's equality in the workforce depends upon attacking inequities in both the traditional and non-traditional spheres.

III. A Narrow Definition of Non-Traditional Jobs

Broadly, non-traditional jobs at any given time may be defined as those in which women form a considerably smaller proportion of the workforce than their current share of the total employed population.¹¹ However there is a public perception that all non-traditional jobs are all-male, hard environments. This perception is reinforced by the fact that CEIC has elected to limit subsidized training to those areas where women's participation is 10% translates into 203 occupational groups, whereas 25%, the suggested increase by the Office of the Status of Women, would encompass 261 occupational groups. This gain of 58 occupational groups is significant in that they are represented primarily by larger firms. It has been established that women entering non-traditional occupations in larger, growing firms are more likely to experience a more stable employment situation, higher wages, and access to further training and promotion.

IV. An Overview of the Short-Comings of Non-Traditional Training

In an effort to overcome women's occupational segregation, depressed wages, and high rates of unemployment, CEIC has developed a number of policy initiatives to upgrade women's skills in non-traditional occupations. These initiatives include a wage subsidy program to employers prepared to accept female trainees and the targetting of 10-15% of the non-traditional institutional seats for women.

Despite these recent policy directives to encourage the participation of women in non-traditional occupations, the training of women continues to follow a pattern of occupational concentration and segregation as found in traditional female occupations. Eight occupational groups accounted for 85% of all the female trainees started in 1978-79 and these consisted overwhelmingly of traditional female jobs. Over 50% of these female trainees were trained in two occupations alone -- stenographic and typing and other clerical and related occupations -- even though only 14% gave these as their usual occupations.¹²

The streaming of women into traditional occupations is more graphically illustrated in the apprenticeship training program where women comprise 3% of the trainees. However, 85% of these women were personal and service occupations' trainees.¹³

Only a handful of women are actually receiving training in such non-traditional occupations as: construction trades, electrical, power, lighting, and wire communications, equipment erecting, installing, and repairing occupations.¹⁴ Since apprenticeship training accounts for 32%¹⁵ of the trainees in an institutional setting, women's scant 3% participation rate, a rate which has remained constant in the last 10 years, indicates that there is an obvious need for

a more serious commitment to encourage and promote women as apprenticeship trainees.

The picture which emerges is that women's representation is lowest in strictly job-related programs such as apprentice and skill training and highest in areas which are indirect and preparatory including -- Language Training and Basic Job Readiness Training. Women's participation in institutional and industrial training has remained almost constant over the period from 1975 to 1979. The only notable improvement was a fairly small increase in the proportion of women in the Skill Training Program, but the majority in this program were trained in traditional, sex-typed occupations.¹⁶

In institutional training (CMTD) there is too little emphasis on on-job training, barring students from valuable, applied experience. This strong emphasis on classroom training does not reflect the needs of the majority of occupations. What often occurs is an inadequate matching of the type and number of seats with job opportunities with the result that the female graduates of these non-traditional training programs find that they cannot use their training.

This poor matching is a reflection of the "inflexible planning processes created by an artificial

distinction between training and education as a result of jurisdictional conflicts between the federal government and the provinces".¹⁷ For example, occupational skill training is still concentrates in a small number of low skill occupations, with almost one quarter of skill trainees in 1974-75 enrolled in clerical and concentrated occupations. In 1977-78 this occupational group still accounted for 24% of skill trainees.

In an attempt to respond to problems with training, CEIC has been revamping training programs by phasing out Basic Training and replacing it with a Skill Development Program geared for prerequisite training for entry into occupational skill training programs. However, unless the occupational skill training program is considerably improved, the benefits of this can be questioned. This is particularly evident in CEIC's development of the Critical Skills Shortage Training Program which theoretically will provide support to industry for high cost training of persons in trades experiencing critical shortages. In practice the 5.9 million dollar allocation for 1979-80 is unquestionably inadequate to achieve this goal. In addition, CEIC anticipates a federal-provincial conflict in that both B.C. and Alberta have not accepted this program.

Yet another serious deterrent to women attempting to train in either traditional or non-traditional areas,

is the short-sightedness of the Training Allowances offered to women. As of August 1979 the dependent care allowance of 10 dollars per week per dependent was limited to a maximum of 40 dollars per week. This is a mere pittance compared to the cost of day care and will not go far in making training accessible to women with dependents. The dependent care allowance reduction was preceded by a reduction in training allowances from 45 dollars to 10 dollars a week for those living with a parent or a working spouse. Most women were worse off than previously as a result of the combined effect of these two programs. A direct outcome of these reductions was a significant decline in women trainees who were not funded by U.I.C.¹⁹

(i) CEC Counsellors - The First Barrier

The criteria given for entry into a program are "the individual must be an 'adult' who is likely to benefit from training in terms of increased employment or earnings potential in the opinion of the CEC Counsellor."²⁰ This mandate gives the individual CEC Counsellor almost total control in the promotion and selection of women into non-traditional training programs. At this fundamental level, the CEC Counsellor overwhelmingly stream women into traditional occupations, as reflected by the abysmally low

participation rates of women in non-traditional occupations. The CEC Counsellors' biases are, however, only a general reflection of public attitudes.

Although there are only two courses specifically designed for women wishing to enter non-traditional occupations, namely, the 75% subsidy program and the pre-trades course, CEC Counsellors do not easily direct women to these courses.

Another serious problem which inhibits women's entry into non-traditional training programs is that CEC Counsellors often lack comprehensive knowledge of the range of courses available to their female clients. This places the onus on the female client to ask the appropriate questions, and to demonstrate a serious interest in a non-traditional occupation. The qualities of persistence and assertiveness -- often the necessary prerequisites in eliciting comprehensive information on training for non-traditional occupations -- are precisely those qualities which so many female clients have never developed.

Recognizing the attitudinal, educational, and experiential short-comings of CEC Counsellors in

addressing themselves to the specific needs of female clients, CEIC placed twelve coordinators of women's employment in the regions and a small staff in Ottawa to develop a plan of action. CEIC developed its first plan of action related to women's employment for 1977-78. This has been followed by subsequent plans of action, none of which has achieved a significant increase in women's participation in non-traditional occupations. Even the introduction of women's liaison counsellors in six regions has had little impact on encouraging and promoting women into the non-traditional areas. These women's liaison counsellors do not exclusively counsel women clients, but rather act only as a resource person to the rest of the CEC Counsellors. As a result, the individual CEC Counsellor still makes the initial assessment as to a woman client's suitability for placement in training in the non-traditional areas.

Essentially CEC Counsellors do not work as career planners, they perceive training as end, not as a means. In effect, women are often streamed into short-term training programs to eliminate their numbers from the unemployment roles because CEC Counsellors are under tremendous pressure to process clients as quickly as possible. A women client who may express some tentative interest in non-traditional occupations is unlikely to receive in-depth counselling,

accurate information, and positive reinforcement.²¹

(ii) The Role of Employers

As of June 1980, CEIC has increased wage subsidies to employers who will accept female trainees in designated non-traditional occupations from 60% to 75% for a maximum of 52 weeks. In 1978, 75% of the wage subsidies went to small, non-union firms with 20 or less employees.²² There are a number of inherent problems posed by channeling female trainees into small firms, with little potential for significant expansion. The women trainees run the risk of becoming a cheap source of labour, vulnerable to lay-offs and unemployment. In 1975, three months after women completed their training in a non-traditional occupation, it was found that they earned 67 dollars less than men with identical characteristics in similar occupations.²³

Since CEIC only does a limited three month follow-up of its trainees in the wage subsidy program, it is difficult to determine if women are retained as permanent employees in any significant numbers. Without long-term monitoring and evaluation of the career paths of these female trainees, it is also difficult to assess if they are promoted in any significant numbers from their entry-level positions.

A recent American study of 400 non-traditional occupations for women reveals that there is a greater

acceptance of women in shrinking or dying non-traditional occupations which men no longer want. These include, for example, such non-traditional occupations as: shoe repairers, bakers, and furniture finishers. It is significant that crafts with a strong growth of males did not have much increase in female employment. Men continue to dominate high paid, supervisory, skilled, and professional posts as well as the upward mobile channels. The study concludes that occupational desegregation does not in itself insure that wage and salary differentials are eliminated, for companies get around giving women equal pay by subterfuges of title and classification.²⁴

This American experience is no doubt comparable to the situation of Canadian women attempting to break into the non-traditional occupations. Unfortunately we have not, as yet, examined the operations of our own labour force to determine the scope of wage and promotional discrimination on the part of employers. What is clear is that by creating a policy which subsidizes small firms for accepting female trainees and by slotting 10-15% of the non-traditional institutional training seats for women, the goal of promoting women into better paying industries and jobs that have been traditionally dominated by men is not being satisfied.²⁵ In fact, what may evolve is a mirror ghetto of women

in traditional jobs. Upgrading women's skills alone will not improve their situation in the workforce. They may still congregate in low-paying, low-status, non-traditional jobs in industries which offer neither stable employment nor an opportunity for promotion. CEIC's policy of promoting women for training and entry in non-traditional jobs is not a panacea nor does it guarantee equality for women in the workforce.

(iii) The Role of Unions

In 1978 women only comprised 28.7% of all union members in Canada precisely because the industries in which women are concentrated -- clerical, service, and sales -- are not highly unionized. Most women have been drawn into the labour force in industries which have been expanding since the last war and which do not have a long history of union activity.²⁶ Even when women enter non-traditional areas, they congregate in small, non-union shops, a situation which is dramatically reflected in their comparatively low wages with men in similar occupations.

In unionized industries which are not experiencing a skill shortage, the trade labour movement's primary objective is to ensure employment for its predominantly male membership. This is particularly evident in the building trades' unions which strongly resist the notion

of women's entry into skilled occupations. They perceive the entry of women into the trades as an encroachment into an all-male preserve and they hold traditional conceptions of the proper sphere of women's work. Unions, under the auspices of their collective agreements, can effectively stymie women's entry into non-traditional jobs by imposing seniority lists on employers -- lists which are generally composed of male workers awaiting entry into a training or apprenticeship position. CEIC is at a distinct disadvantage when attempting to convince employers to train or apprentice women when the unions are simultaneously pressuring for acceptance of their seniority lists.²⁷

As a result, women are clustered in small, non-union firms which are generally not in industries characterized by high productivity, high profits, and high capital intensity -- all of which are pre-conditions for opportunity for promotion.²⁸ The women who train in these small firms not only are penalized with low wages and limited opportunity for promotion, but also are generally denied the possibility of exposure to all aspects of their trade, a prerequisite for journeyman certification. Their training tends to be sporadic and limited with the result that they remain ghettoized at the bottom of the industry.

(iv) Barriers and Deterrants to Women's Participation
in Non-Traditional Occupations

Women who express interest in or attempt entry into non-traditional occupations are subject to a bewildering array of negative and discriminatory attitudes and practices. In the first instance, they must generally confront opposition from family members and the public's perception that non-traditional work is dangerous, dirty, and a threat to their femininity. If they persist in their efforts to receive training and an entry level position, they are then subject to the probable skepticism and often subtle or overt opposition of teachers, employers, unions, male students, and ultimately co-workers and supervisors. It is not surprising that so many women who seek entry into non-traditional occupations find they feel isolated and depressed by their treatment-- all of which increases the likelihood of their failure.

More specifically women find that employers express negative and often hostile attitudes including being told they are physically inadequate because they are too short and/or too light; that there are inadequate washroom facilities; that they are required to qualify at standards much higher than those set for men; and that they are not physically strong enough. Co-workers can thwart a woman in a non-traditional work site by refusing to co-operate in tasks requiring a team effort or deliberately sabotaging an individual woman's work. In addition, they can poison

the woman's work environment by subjecting her to physical and psychological harassment including offensive sexist jokes, ridicule, criticism, grabbing, pinching, pushing and brushing against, and in extreme cases sexual assault.

When women enter non-traditional occupations, they are, in effect, threatening the male sense of superiority. Women often receive the message that they are not really women, but rather a freak or an aberration. In such a negative environment, women are often pressured to be faster and more competent than their male co-workers. Most women quickly recognize that they are merely token concessions to the notion of female equality in the workforce. If they fail, this simply reinforces the message that they are inferior as are all women, but if they succeed they are perceived as being abnormal or a curiosity and they must often cope with the added burden of their male co-workers' hostility and resentment.

If a woman particularly excels at her work, she may find she is accused of undermining her male co-workers. At the same time, as she is being criticized for excelling, she is aware that she must perform a task perfectly before she is allowed to advance, while mediocre or shoddy work is commonly deemed to be acceptable for men's advancement.

Women may also find that they become scapegoats, shouldering the blame for mechanical failures and

designated the source of bad luck when they enter an all-male domain. As a result, many women attempt to distort their personalities in order to achieve even a modicum of acceptance. But this requires denying many of their intrinsic female characteristics.

As long as women enter non-traditional, all-male work sites alone, they will continue to suffer victimization and blatant sexual discrimination. At present, the only choices open to women are to endure patronization, sexual and psychological harassment, and/or hatred and isolation.²⁹

V. Solutions

(i) The Acceptance of the Concept of Systemic Discrimination

CEIC and the federal government as a whole faces the basic problem of discrimination in the workplace when attempting to facilitate the entry of women into non-traditional occupations. It is not sufficient to view discrimination as an expression of individual pathology (ill-will, bigotry, etc.), whereby an individual employer bases his decision to hire, promote, or terminate a woman on other than market criteria. Discrimination must be defined as systemic or structural, since its existence is so widespread and enduring that it can only be deemed as endemic to our society. It is the responsibility of government to set and enforce

rules such that, in this instance, each individual woman is free to actualize herself to the maximum, constrained only by individual ability or motivation, within the framework of a more perfectly functioning market economy.³⁰

(ii) Contract Compliance

Serious consideration should be given to the concept of Contract Compliance which is one in a range of policy measures CEIC can adopt to break down systemic discrimination. Contract Compliance is a program which has been pioneered by the American federal government in an effort to ensure that women and minorities have equal opportunity and access to entry level positions, training, and promotion from those companies holding federal contracts. Federal contractors are required to prepare an affirmative action plan (AAP) which must include a statistical workforce analysis, minority and female availability estimates, a utilization analysis, and an evaluation of the contractor's employment practices. If it is found from a review of these components that the employer's utilization of women and minorities is deficient, the development of goals and timetables and other specific and detailed action oriented programs is required. A goal is stated as a percentage of the total employees in the job group. Ultimate goals must be equal to the availability percentage or estimate.

The timetable is then developed so that the ultimate goal can be reached within the minimum feasible time. Failure to meet a goal will not result in any sanctions, provided that the contractor can demonstrate that he/she has made "every good faith effort" which is defined as the practical application of the contractor's commitment to impliment all phases of the APP. If a contractor is found to have violated the rules and regulations of its contract with the federal government, he/she may be subject to a number of sanctions including, canceling or terminating the entire contract or any portion of the contract, withholding progress payments on a contract, or debarring the contractor from future contracts.

The concept of Contract Compliance has prompted a dramatic change in attitudes and practices on the part of many federal contractors. In an effort to come into compliance, significant numbers of federal contractors have overhauled their entire personnel departments, with the result that productivity, employee morale, absenteeism, and turnover have all, in many instances, been positively affected. What is relevant to women and minorities under this policy initiative, is that they have for the first time had access to jobs and training previously inaccessible to them.³¹

For women attempting to enter non-traditional occupations, Contract Compliance, would be a powerful

tool in overcoming systemic discrimination which is responsible for erecting the powerful barriers they face.

(iii) Placing Women in Growth Industries

Rather than place women in small, non-union shops, which is the present approach to facilitating women's entry into non-traditional occupations, CEIC should examine those industries which are expanding. Many of the unionized, growth industries offer higher wages and greater job security than the small firms that CEIC is presently subsidizing to accept women trainees in non-traditional occupations. Furthermore, large firms are often better equipped to provide comprehensive skills training to female trainees who would then be in a stronger bargaining position in negotiating future jobs or promotion.

A large firm may also be in a better position to accept more than one woman as a trainee, thereby, providing a team approach. Women in groups are better able to cope with the psychological and physical harassment their co-workers and supervisors may inflict. There is less likelihood that two or more women will experience the tremendous sense of isolation that a single woman faces.

(iv) The Inclusion of Pre-Training

In order to maximize the possibility of women's successful entry into a non-traditional occupation, it is necessary to provide a lead time to properly train women before CEIC approaches growth industries. This pre-training should not only include skills orientation, but also a special emphasis on assertiveness training. Given the extent of negative and sexist attitudes and practices women must confront in both co-workers and supervisors, assertiveness training is an essential aspect of any pre-trades and skills training program.

However, training should not exclusively be focused on the women entering non-traditional occupations. The male co-workers and supervisors who have historically dominated all the non-traditional occupations present a formidable barrier. In these work situations there is evidence that men engage in sexual harassment, and mental and emotional abuse. A lack of any form of co-operation is also quite common. To overcome this resistance to women's participation in what they consider a male preserve, it will be necessary to develop a shop floor orientation which begins the process of raising man's awareness and consciousness that women are entitled to equal opportunity in the workplace.

(v) A New Approach to CEC Counselling

CEC Counsellors present a real impediment to women's entry into non-traditional occupations precisely because so many of their numbers are not adequately trained as employment counsellors. The tendency to stream women into traditional occupations is often a reflection of a lack of comprehensive knowledge of the range of options open to women clients and the emphasis is placed on placement rather than on counselling and training.

Without a revamping of CEC Counsellor in-put, any policy initiatives on the part of CEIC stands an increased chance of failure. CEC Counsellors are the foundation upon which any fundamental change is based. To ensure that women applicants are acquainted with and encouraged to consider non-traditional occupations, the most highly qualified staff should supervise and train the remaining counsellors. The emphasis would be better placed on upgrading the position of a CEC Counsellor whose primary function would be counselling, not slotting or processing clients so that administrative quotas are met.

(vi) Establish a Registry or Referral System

At the present time, there is little if any emphasis on matching women who express an interest in non-traditional occupations with industries experiencing

skills shortages. Establishing a registry or referral system would accomplish two different but inter-related goals: CEC Counsellors would have a pool of interested women to draw upon when an employer agrees to accept women trainees, rather than add fuel to existing prejudices by foisting unsuitable women on them, and union resistance could be avoided by not training women for trades which are experiencing an economic slump such as construction.

(vii) Advertising and Promotion Campaign

Unless CEIC is prepared to engage in a vigorous advertising and promotion campaign, very little progress can be made in interesting and encouraging women to enter non-traditional occupations. Women are not, as yet, aware of the potential for employment in industries which offer high wages and job security. The definition of non-traditional could be enlarged to include a whole range of technical and skilled occupations where women's participation is at best minimal, if not non-existent. The persisting stereotype of non-traditional work as dangerous, dirty, and hard can only be overcome with a concentrated educational campaign.

(viii) Raise Training and Day Care Allowances

There is enough evidence to suggest that women are severely handicapped by the dual responsibilities of homemaking and working. Women continue to bear primary

responsibility for care of children, household maintenance, meal preparation, and often the care of the elderly. Availability of high quality day care which is reliable, affordable, and convenient is a necessary condition before equality of opportunity for women can realistically be discussed. In addition, the development of societal institutions and mechanisms to help share women's homemaking responsibilities as women increasingly share financial responsibilities has not kept pace with the need. Unless these needs are addressed even in a minimal way by increasing training and living allowances to a realistic level, entry into non-traditional occupations will only benefit a handful of women.

VI. Conclusion

In the long-run, opening non-traditional occupations to women cannot redress the growing wage differential between men and women. If women are to achieve true equality in the workforce, we must move simultaneously on two fronts. Greater efforts must be made to improve the earnings of women in traditional jobs by enacting strong equal pay legislation. At the same time, women should be given the opportunity to train for and enter non-traditional jobs by providing a legal mandate under Contract Compliance, and strong human rights legislation which would provide protection against discrimination in education and employment. Our present system loosely

based on a voluntary approach with a small subsidy program, is hopelessly inadequate to affect a significant change in women's equal participation in either traditional or non-traditional occupations.

Footnotes

1. Hagerman, Dave. Discussion Paper, Women in Non-Traditional Jobs: A Review of Manpower Policies and Programs, Women's Employment Division, CEIC, March, 1979, p. 29.
2. Ibid., p. 9.
3. Swan, Carol. A Draft Paper on The Position of Women in the Canadian Labour Market, Labour Market Development Task Force, CEIC, September, 1980, p. 13.
4. Ibid., p. 1.
5. Ibid., p. 10.
6. National Council of Welfare, Women and Poverty, Ottawa, 1979, p. 21.
7. Swan, op. cit., p. 10.
8. Ciuriak, Dan and Sims, Harvey. Participation Rate and Labour Force Growth in Canada, Canada Department of Finance, April, 1980, p. 11.
9. Swan, op. cit., p. 27.
10. Ibid., p. 20-23.
11. Reubens, Beatrice G. and Reubens, Edwin P. "Women Workers, Nontraditional Occupations and Full Employment", American Women Workers in a Full Employment Economy, A Compendium of Papers submitted to the Subcommittee on Economic Growth and Stabilization of the Joint Economic Committee Congress of the United States, Washington, 1977, p. 106.
12. Dale, Patricia. Women and Jobs: The Impact of Federal Government Employment Strategies On Women, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, June, 1980, p. 57.
13. Ibid., p. 57.
14. Ibid., p. 58.
15. Ibid., p. 52.
16. Ibid., p. 53.

17. Goodman, Barbara. New Directions for Manpower Policy, C.D. Howe Institute, Montreal, 1976, p. 40.
18. Dale, op. cit., p. 49-50.
19. Status of Women Canada. Towards Equality for Women, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1979, p. 17.
20. Department of Manpower and Immigration and The Treasury Board Secretariat. Interdepartmental Evaluation of the Canada Manpower Training Program: Technical Report, Ottawa, 1977, p. 25.
21. Cohen, Leah. Report on Women's Participation in Apprenticeship Training, Women's Employment Division, CEIC, 1978, p. 2-3.
22. Hagerman, op. cit., p. 24.
23. Ibid., p. 18.
24. Reubens and Reubens, op. cit., pp. 113-122.
25. Hagerman, op. cit., p. 31.
26. Swan, op. cit., pp. 31-32.
27. Cohen, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
28. Swan, op. cit., p. 49.
29. A summary of the analysis in Backhouse, Constance and Cohen, Leah. The Secret Oppression: Sexual Harassment of Working Women, Macmillan of Canada, Ltd., Toronto, 1978 and Braid, Kate. Invisible Women: Women in Non-Traditional Occupations in B.C., A M.A. Thesis, Department of Communication, Simon Fraser University, December, 1979.
30. Cohen, Leah. Summary of the American Experience With Federal Contract Compliance, The Affirmative Action Division, CEIC, December, 1979, pp. 2-5.
31. Ibid., Executive Summary, pp. 1-2.

